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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the varied cultures of Appalachia in terms of the cultural images currently being projected by tourist and land development advertisers in the area. Because these industries have not clearly defined the culture they are trying to sell, they promote conflicting public images and thereby violate the ethnic and cultural heritage of many Appalachian residents. The paper describes three subcultures in West Virginia to illustrate the inconsistencies of any one image, such as the hillbilly stereotype. (1) West Virginia farm culture exists in the eastern part of the state. Its ethnic population consists of Germans, Dutch, and English. Religious sects are fairly well educated, per capita income is high, and there is minimal dependency on family and community relationships. (2) West Virginia urban culture reflects a mixture of ethnic groups, pragmatism, concept orientation, preference for small families, and varied religious and social practices. (3) The culture of the rural hollows in the southern coalfields promotes stereotyped images of independence, family orientation, feuding, and religious fundamentalism. However, even in this region the traditional attitudes are changing. Women's roles are not entirely domestic, educational levels are increasing, and the extended family is not as prevalent. Ethnic groups include Scotch-Irish, Polish, and Italians. The conclusion is that a realistic portrayal of Appalachia must be based upon a complex blend of traditional and modern lifestyles. (AV)

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THE COMMERCIAL REVITALIZATION OF
SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN CULTURE:
SOME IMPLICATIONS

by
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Since they bear no distinguishing racial characteristics, Appalachians are usually described in terms of their culture. What is generally thought of as the traditional culture of the region, conveyed to outsiders largely via the mass media, remains a popular enough notion to warrant some investigation. Commercial development is taking place rapidly in the region. This economic revitalization both reflects and influences Appalachian culture and values. It seems that those who are most involved in the tourist and land development industries have not yet accurately defined the culture they are trying to sell and work within. This raises many implications of cultural exploitation and insensitivity.

Many questions remain for those interested in advertising Appalachian culture: Should all of the traditional culture be sold, or just those parts of it that are most familiar to the public? Most importantly, what are the implications for present Appalachian residents who do not fit the stereotype image of the hillbilly, if this image indeed sells well? How can developers overcome this image if it is not good for business? Which other cultural characteristics might be capitalized upon?

It is my position in this paper that Appalachia never was one homogeneous culture of hillbillies, and to portray this picture now solely for commercial reasons, constitutes a violation of the heritage of many of those who live in the mountains. However, neither is an image of an efficient, sophisticated, middle-America person completely accurate. Indeed, in some parts of the region the image of a Southern plantation owner or worker would

be the most historically accurate image to sell to the public. Many developers refuse to acknowledge the region's increasing closeness to national norms because it takes away the uniqueness and salability of much tourist and land development. At the same time, other (mostly industrial) interests seem to want to capitalize on this change in the culture. Both tend to overstate their cases, I feel, and in so doing cause native residents some confusion and anxiety.

To illustrate how the commercial revitalization has constituted a violation of heritage for many Appalachian residents (and often at opposite extremes), I will specifically outline three subcultures in West Virginia, showing the inconsistencies of any monolithic image (hillbilly or otherwise) that the promoters of the area might be selling. I have chosen West Virginia because it is totally Appalachian by government definition, it represents a good cross-section of the different subcultures existing in the region, and because it is my home state and allows me to speak partly from first-hand experience. Although I will relate culture and commercial ventures in West Virginia specifically, I think most of the conclusions I will draw could be generalized to some degree to the entire Southern Appalachian region.

What is most commonly thought of as traditional Appalachian culture (i.e., the mountain hillbilly culture of dulcimers, quilts, feuds, and moonshine) imposes upon many present residents an image which may or may not have had anything to do with their true heritage. The closest to what is being sold presently

under this image is that of the hollow-dweller in the southern West Virginia coalfields. However, two other significant populations in the state, the urban and open-farm populations, seem to be alternately forgotten or capitalized upon as part of the "new" image developers want to promote. Granted, with only 2% of the land in the state flat, and only 39 % of the population in urban and 21 % in open-farm areas, the hollows contain more people than either of the other areas alone. But when one considers the economic and historical political importance of the farming and urban areas, they become much more vital to any accurate representation of the people and culture of the state and region.

West Virginia Farm Culture. One of the most prominent areas being promoted for industrial, tourist, and land development in West Virginia is the eastern tier of counties, including the eastern panhandle of the state. The reason this area has proven so attractive to commercial interests is that the valleys are wide and flat, allowing for better transportation facilities and a more scenic view of the surrounding mountains. Also, it is close to the larger mid-Atlantic urban population centers, which allows advertising and promotion to reach more prospective clients more easily than is true in other parts of the state.

Although rural, the eastern counties of the state show little resemblance to the hillbilly culture most often advertised to attract tourists. Poverty and geographic isolation are two of the major themes in West Virginia culture, according to most authorities. However, the degree of intensity of these two factors has differed rather significantly from one area of the state to another.

While there have, of course, been many historical forces at work in producing differences in the coalfield and open farm areas, two important ones are obvious. First, the ethnic populations of the two areas are different. The farming counties in the eastern panhandle of West Virginia historically drew more Germans, Dutch, and English people, and have not since attracted many new residents. On the other hand, the original stock of the southern coal-producing areas, the Scotch-Irish, remained relatively pure until boom periods in the mining industry brought in Polish, Eastern European, black, Italian, and other ethnic groups.

Secondly, the religious sects most popular in the Eastern farm counties emphasized a more educated ministry (i.e., Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Methodist, rather than Pentacostal, Holiness, and some Baptist denominations). These more educated denominations did not stress philosophical fatalism as strongly as did churches in the coalfields, and their dogma remains more optimistic even today. Along with geographic and economic factors, these differences in population and religion bred a much different life-style in the eastern and southern areas of the state.

Certainly, however, some attitudes and values of the eastern agrarian and the southern coal-producing regions of West Virginia are similar. For instance, individualism has been a strong cultural force in both. Both the farming occupation (instead of coal-mining) and the more open terrain of the eastern counties have contributed to differences in the kind of individualism stressed in the two areas. In the farming counties, the individual is emphasized within a participatory democracy which devalues

only the more massive forms of bureaucracy and centralization, while coal county individualism stresses an antipathy toward any form of government regulation or outside interference into personal lives. Thus, the image of the hillbilly moonshiner vs. the federal "revenueurs" is hardly accurate for either area now, but is especially untrue in the history of eastern West Virginia.

Outsiders generally have a hard time imagining Appalachians at any other than the lowest economic levels. The individualism mentioned above is often linked with the visual image of a boy in ragged, tattered clothes with no shoes. This image is now and always has been decidedly less true in farming areas than in the hollows of the coalfields. For instance, while per capita income in the farming areas of West Virginia is presently lower than in the energy boom coal country, it is still fairly high for the region overall, and has been historically consistently higher than in the southern counties. Housing, as another economic indicator, is distinguished in the eastern farming area by both the ante-bellum mansions of slave-holding agrarian society and by the family farm cottages built by northerners who migrated south. Census reports show a marked increase in per capita income (from \$1945 to \$2071 on the average) and in tourist-related employment figures (from 423 to 755 in entertainment and recreational facilities categories alone), even by 1970. And property values have more than doubled in the last 10 years in the eastern counties, as well. There is no sign of this boom diminishing in eastern West Virginia for some time to come. The Washington Post alone carries no fewer than three travel advertisements for resorts in this area every Sunday.

All these economic indicators are in great contrast to the image of the poor people living in small mountain cabins at the far end of a footbridge up the hollows in a mining area (of which there are still many, despite the boom in coal). Indeed, the education levels are higher and the fertility rate lower in the rural farm areas than in the coalfields, and these two factors alone have historically given the farmers a decided economic advantage over the miners.

Contrary to the normal pattern of tourist industry advertising in the region overall, the promoters of the eastern counties in West Virginia do not want the hillbilly image conveyed in the popular press. Rather, they would picture it as a serene, quiet, rural culture imbued with elements of class from the antebellum South. While this image might be more acceptable to local residents than the hillbilly one, neither is a completely accurate representation of the people of eastern West Virginia.

To build an acceptable image of the residents of eastern West Virginia counties, one must describe the daily society and home practices of these people. Some cultural characteristics often attributed to Appalachians in general are not true of many eastern rural residents. Child-rearing practices which induce dependency, strong fatalism, and lack of community organization may be common among the poorer people of both farming and coal-mining areas. But, these practices are less often found among the more rural open-farm area residents than in the hollows. Family ties are strong in the open farm areas, as might be expected, and the networks of communication based on this familism are quite evident in both areas as well. Extended families do

still exist in the farm areas, as in any rural area, but (similar to the coal towns and hollows) are fewer in number than in the past. The critical reference groups of kin, neighbors, and the local preacher appear even today to be most important in the rural counties, as well as in the coalfields. The major difference is that in the open-farm areas of eastern West Virginia, the people have never built up the degree of dependency in either family or community relationships that the southern coal-mining residents have--partly because they never had to endure company ownership.

Generally, family life and community organization are not mentioned in the advertising literature, but when they are they change with the prevailing economic wind. For ski areas and land sales in the east, the friendliness and traditional family values of the natives is emphasized. But for southern points of tourist interest, the traditional clannishness and violence are stressed. The developers in the east want to emphasize the wholesome family image and neighborhood camaraderie without making the locals appear clannish and uninviting; whereas, the same tourist industry will promote the idea of clannish feuds in southern West Virginia. Thus, much depends upon the clientele being sought, and on the characteristics of the local subculture.

West Virginia Urban Culture. In more direct cultural contrast to coalfield and farming societies stand the urban centers of the state--barely acknowledged at all by promoters. The city appears historically in Appalachia as well as elsewhere as a

cultural leader in many respects; thus, stereotyped Appalachian culture still to be found in the more rural areas is very limited in the cities of West Virginia.

Due to the early mixture of ethnic groups and to the urbanized way of life, residents of Appalachian cities do not presently exhibit many of the cultural characteristics popularly assigned to the Appalachian dweller; yet these people are technically just as "Appalachian" as any coal miner.

Differences in the values and style of social intercourse are easily apparent between West Virginia city dwellers and the state's coal or farm area dwellers. The poor rural, or hollow-dwelling, Appalachian is individualistic in an age in which urbanites demand collective action; personal when others want functional relationships; traditional and fundamentalist in an age of pragmatism and relativism; person-oriented rather than concept-oriented in conversation; action-seeking in life-style in a society which does not offer many forms of acceptable action; and familistic in a time of breakdown in the urban family. The city resident, whether in West Virginia or elsewhere, is more impersonal in day-to-day business, exhibiting a sort of contrived optimism, instead of fatalism, about his life. Also, the urbanite tends to see politics and law as a rationalized effort, while the rural West Virginian often does not.

Because of transportation and commercial advantages common to such West Virginia cities as Wheeling or Charleston, they grew in population much more quickly than either the coalfield or farming areas. In addition, the "great migration" of the 1950's

did not deplete the population as drastically in the urban areas as in many of the mining areas. Finally, the wide mixture of historic religious and social practice in the city has often been maintained in spite of the migration to the suburbs and urban renewal. These conditions have left few grounds of cultural commonality among the populations in West Virginia's cities and those in the rural farm or coal-hollow areas.

Such cultural institutions as education and religion historically allowed exposure of new ideas more quickly to city youth. This trend, however, is much less ahead of the rural farm and coalfield societies today than in the past. Urban educational heritage, for instance, was superior in facilities, faculties, number of students, and curriculum to practically every other area in the region until approximately the last fifty years, but this cannot be said any longer. Similarly, religion for the city dweller was historically less often fundamentalist and revivalist in orientation, with a greater emphasis on educated clergy. However, this cannot be taken for granted today, for fundamentalist practices and interpretations are now acknowledged in many churches in West Virginia cities, as well as in the rural areas.

Urban social and family relationships in West Virginia have been less person-oriented, more externally directed. In other words, more status was traditionally assigned to an urban resident on the basis of occupation or other accomplishments than on family and/or neighborhood connections. Interdependent familism as a pattern of social interaction is not strong in the city, except

perhaps in the ethnic communities. Less fierce individualism, more positive attitudes toward community organization, fewer extended families, and fewer dependency inducements in child-rearing distinguish the city culture (both past and present) from that of the more rural farming and coal-mining areas.

West Virginia urban dwellers tend to lack the environmental influence of the rural setting and the agrarian system of values to maintain social patterns such as those found in stereotyped Appalachian culture. Often, then, West Virginia city residents have been forced to accept a distorted definition of their culture in order to draw tourists' and developers' money. The great numbers of ethnic groups in the cities suffer an almost complete abdication of their true cultural heritage when they are subsumed in a commercial promotion of Appalachia as a hillbilly "craftsy" culture.

Now that we have in mind these cultural aspects of the often neglected open farm and urban areas, let us examine the major area from which the stereotyped culture is derived--the culture of the hollows. This is the image most often promoted, but the commercial interests tend to be very selective even here in what is advertised.

The Hollow Culture in the Coalfields. Cultural characteristics of what is generally labelled "Appalachian society" have been outlined by various authorities. Love of homeplace, "person orientation," and a preference for independent, personalized local government are often cited as cultural characteristics of those who live in the region. However, equally important day-to-day cultural elements of the hollow-dweller's life include: values stressing independence, violence, individualism, and religious

fundamentalism. Now that we have established that the stereotype of these elements of the culture do not apply very well to open farm and urban residents of West Virginia, let us examine whether or not they fit even those they were intended to describe.

According to many early childhood experts, beginning in infancy, the youth of the hollows are often pampered by adults, and a great deal of dependency is purposefully induced. However, parents of younger ages, with higher education levels and fewer children have not generally used such dependency-inducing child-rearing practices. (Martyrdom and exclusion of outside influences are common examples.) Still, admittedly many children in the poorer families of West Virginia hollow society are reared by these methods. It is not until adolescence that these same youth are expected to find their own reference groups and take on many new responsibilities. It is, of course, highly questionable whether dependency-inducing child-rearing practices create truly dependent adults in these communities; but such practices certainly are still to be found in some homes.

The commercial interests in the state tend to ignore the idea of dependency, because it conflicts with the independent, "noble savage" image that they want to sell. One would never find mention of this in tourist literature, but it is a very important part of the social fabric of some people of the state.

Part of the "noble savage" image developers want to promote involves the traditional equality and justice of the mountains. Since social interests have traditionally been based upon mutual reciprocity in mining-area reference groups, fair play and justice have attained high status in their value orientation. In fact,

equality has been one of the most important values associated with the legendary individualism of Appalachian residents.

However, justice in the mountains has sometimes led to violence. Such feuds as that between the Hatfields and McCoys, as well as the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek union violence, have been sensationalized in the popular literature, partly to attract tourists.

To be sure, some violence has been sanctioned in the mining areas (as well as other places), but usually only for certain specified transgressions against particular individuals. Things like cheating a friend, stealing a family's farm animals, or picking a fight with a man's brother might at one time have been cause for such violence. In addition, hunting and other uses of weaponry have long been leisure-time activities in West Virginia and the region (for men). To some extent, the tradition of violence in sport, as well as in social relationships, has endured into modern times in West Virginia mining communities. However, clannish feuding and vigilante-type redress of grievances is becoming a thing of the past as populations fluctuate and attitudes in favor of law and order prevail.

Violence seems to sell on television, so promoters of West Virginia land and tourist areas use the feuds to their advantage with tourists who want excitement. A good example of this is the stage production of the "Hatfields and McCoys" which attracts thousands of visitors every year in Beckley, West Virginia. Little or no acknowledgement is made of the fact that family feuds were relatively uncommon in many parts of the state, and hardly any others reached the intensity of the Hatfield/McCoy fight.

Another aspect of traditional Appalachian culture which is manipulated in advertising West Virginia and Appalachia involves the role of women in the culture of the hill people. Rigid, stereotyped sex roles in the home have historically been typical of hollow people. However, this is not without exception. In spite of the submissive role expected of the wife in these homes, an accompanying expectation for the exhibition of great strength in the face of poverty and disaster has also been imposed upon the woman. Even the early ballads and folk music of the region demonstrate that women have been viewed alternately as devious, strong, dominant, motherly figures in the home, or as rather stupid, weak creatures, easily manipulated by both men and nature. While modern Appalachian women are beginning to break out of these stereotyped roles, indicators such as numbers of professional and working women show that this trend is moving slowly in the region as a whole. Developers, presumably fearful of a controversial "women's lib" argument, have avoided dealing with the traditional strength of Appalachian womanhood for the most part, and instead picture the woman as highly domestic--quilting, making soap, and rearing children. This image is especially strong at the many craft fairs held in West Virginia each year.

Rigid social patterns such as those I have just described have often been built up over the years, due to geographic isolation and other factors. Thus, social patterns which may, on the surface, appear to be very similar to those found in the open farm areas are really much more deeply entrenched and involve a different focus up the hollows than on the farm.

The miner's major reference group outside of the family generally consists of close friends, co-workers, kin, preacher, and neighbors. The local neighborhood-based group has been (and largely remains) the salient unit of social relations where people, instead of being sorted into separate roles or categories, enact several roles simultaneously.

Still, among the values held in these mining areas of West Virginia, one's family relationships have historically been the most important. According to Ronald Althouse, a West Virginia University sociologist, an ascribed status based on family has been of greater value in defining one's identity in West Virginia than has achieved status, based on occupation. This ascribed status involves what many sociologists have called the "person orientation" of the Appalachian (as opposed to the "object orientation" of greater American society). The traditional pattern of social interaction based on person-orientation and close family and neighborhood groups has pictured the West Virginia mining area (or hollow) dweller as viewing work as a necessity, and the reference group of family and friends as literally the only source of emotional security and identity.

The extended family itself has long been considered one of the most easily identifiable cultural phenomena in Appalachia and West Virginia, and the accompanying social interaction pattern called "familism" is still seen as one of the strongest cultural elements peculiar to the area. But even this bastion of tradition is breaking down. According to census housing figures, for

instance, younger miners in West Virginia have smaller households and more often live in mobile homes than do older miners. Granted, this may be due more to necessity than choice; but it does seem to show a shifting of values from those of strong kinship and extended families to those of increased privacy and smaller nuclear families. This is not to say that the extended family has disappeared, however, for many of the younger miners still have at least one parent living in the home.

Do commercial interests favor person-orientation, clannish neighborhood groups, and familism in their portrait of Appalachian society? Definitely, in the tourist industry at least. It has, after all, a certain "down home" appeal in this age of nostalgia and back-to-nature, and it fits the hillbilly stereotype. What tourism promoters refuse to acknowledge is that this kind of social interaction is quickly breaking down in every part of Appalachia. If tourists expect to see this in the 1970's, they are likely to be disappointed in many areas of the so-called "hill culture". Industrial developers, on the other hand, try to play the clannishness down in order to entice new workers to settle in these areas. In this set of opposing circumstances, hollow people are really being exploited in two directions at once.

Familism and person-orientation are closely related to community organization in West Virginia. The culture in coal-producing areas encourages small, local, protective community groups similar to those found in the social organization of these communities. Attitudes toward community organization in the coal-mining communities are thus traditional and conservative

in many respects. Good relations in a West Virginia coal town imply a norm of "minding one's own business," and formally structured, organized groups have usually been tolerated only so long as they have not interfered with personal connections and dealings between persons in their immediate association. Instead, personal enterprise has been valued in community action.

There appears to be a general lack of participation in organizations, and little sense of community in Southern Appalachia as a whole, according to many authorities (e.g., Ford, Weller, et al). A lack of determined leadership and agency utilization has traditionally accompanied these attitudes. Even church organizations have reflected the non-intellectual, informal, personal individualism of this culture.

Of course, community dependency seems especially evident in West Virginia in the coal-mining areas which used to be company owned. Family and friends are referred to first, community groups last, in this region. The historical company town fastened a sense of dependency on the residents which did much to prevent the development of an attitude of community responsibility. Weak and corrupt local government has also helped produce attitudes toward community organization of alienation, apathy, resignation, and frustration (even to the point of personality disintegration at times).

Needless to say, promoters who want to emphasize the labor supply, community spirit, and natural beauty do not advertise such negative aspects of traditional Appalachian culture. Even counter-culture people, who may look favorably upon the person-orientation, familism, and difference in work ethic, would not

be attracted by these negative attitudes toward community participation. But promoters of the tourist industry often capitalize on it as historical independence and civil disobedience.

Another easily sensationalized aspect of West Virginia's hollow areas is the philosophical/religious orientation of the people. This, again, however, is better advertised to draw tourists than to attract industry and new residents. Fatalism and fundamentalism are inextricably linked to the lives of the "hill people". It is a well-known fact that many of the churches in Southern West Virginia, and perhaps especially in the hollows, are highly fundamentalist in orientation, highly emotional in practice. Snake-handling churches still exist in Jolo and Camp Creek, West Virginia, for example. Many Pentacostal sects, as well as other denominations, conduct loud, revivalistic services also.

Certainly not all churches in the West Virginia coal town or hollow should be thought of as fundamentalist, though. The consolidation movement has hit the churches as well as the schools in the state, and national church offices have set higher education standards for their clergy in the past fifty years. Therefore, except in the smallest and most geographically isolated communities, religious services are held in coal town churches which would be recognizable to anyone of that denomination anywhere in the country. It must be remembered also that these churches, whether fundamentalist or not, have often served in social and welfare capacities long before government programs came to Appalachia to provide these services. Many are still doing so today.

Tourism promoters of Appalachian culture do push the religious nature of the mountain people's lives, but tend to sensationalize it as much as possible with stories of snake-handlers and itinerant preachers. They tend to ignore the far more numerous simple, unexciting (mostly Protestant) services held by most churches in the coalfields.

Finally, negative attitudes toward education constitute an additional stereotyped cultural phenomenon often found in the popular literature on Appalachia. The promoters make these attitudes sound universal, when they actually fit into traditional Appalachia mostly in the coalfields alone. Education has not been valued highly in the past in the coal-mining areas, but this attitude appears to be changing. Schools in the coalfields now meet state accreditation requirements, and there is very little (less than 1%) difference in the dropout rate in these counties than in the open farm counties of eastern West Virginia, as of the 1975-76 school year.

All these traditional practices and images of Appalachians do have at least a partial basis in truth, but they are all in a state of transition. That is why I think it a bit presumptuous of commercial interests to advertise selected elements of this culture as truly representative of a state or region today. It seems to be to the tourism developers' advantage to retain the sometimes violent, but independent, familistic, fundamentalist image of the mountaineer, while the industrial developers are promoting a completely opposite picture. Neither is really correct. In the process of building these images, sexism,

anti-intellectualism, and organizational apathy have not been accurately acknowledged. However, neither has friendliness, candor, and a knowledge and love of the land been adequately acknowledged (especially by those who are so eager to strip and mine the land). Even more importantly, however, those residents who demonstrate some of the less salable characteristics for a particular commercial interest may be forced to deny parts of their real heritage primarily for the economic gain of promoters. This would be the most undesirable implication of the commercial movement in West Virginia and Appalachia, especially since local people generally see little of the money themselves.

Conclusions. The image of the Appalachian most commonly presented to the world is that of the simple life of the mountain hillbilly, but the variety in Appalachian subcultures shown here demonstrates that there are in fact many other things to be said about these people. The Appalachians least often depicted in the popular literature have undoubtedly been the urban residents. It occurs to me that perhaps urban and suburban outsiders have built up no stereotyped visual image of the urban West Virginian or Appalachian resident because he is so little different from themselves. They prefer to think only of a Snuffy Smith or a Li'l Abner character when they conjure up a picture of an Appalachian. Indeed, many Appalachians are happy to perpetuate this image for the commercial advantage involved. But many more are highly indignant at the ignorance of outsiders about life in the mountains.

The differences in ethnic, geographic, economic, environmental, social, religious, and political conditions over an extensive

time period have influenced the subcultures of West Virginia and the entire Appalachian region to be different from middle-class America in many cultural characteristics. But as transportation and the mass media make inroads into Appalachia, these cultural differences become less and less discernible. Many developers refuse to acknowledge the cultural diversity found in the mountains, and others refuse to acknowledge the parts of original mountain culture and life-style that still remain. So, residents of the area are caught in the middle, with no accurate image of themselves to represent to outsiders.

As the economic problems of the state and region are solved, the provincialism of the area is fading. With the recent boom in the coal industry, we can already see this happening. Claiming economic advancement and closeness to national social norms as being desirable presumably has been the argument promoters have used to win over recalcitrant West Virginians to their money-making schemes. West Virginians want more money as much as anyone else, but in order to entice tourists and industry to get this money, many are subjecting themselves to a sort of identity crisis. To please tourists, they must retain many elements of hillbilly culture (which some areas like the eastern panhandle and the cities of West Virginia were never really a part of); and to entice industry and land development they must deny many parts of mountain culture and life-style.

For one thing, efforts at revitalization of Appalachian culture have been aimed primarily at the "cultural" area of arts and crafts. It has been pointed out in this paper that the arts and crafts of Appalachia--the quilts and dulcimers--

were only a small part of the culture of the region in many cases, and now appear as almost an affectation. To try to revitalize a culture borne of economic necessity and geographic isolation seems quite unrealistic in a time of mobile populations and mass media. However, this is not to say one should let the more desirable traditions and values of this region die out. Indeed, our growing awareness of questions involving the quality of life makes some of them more precious to us every day.

What should be resurrected and advertised, to be consistent and fair to native residents of the Appalachian region's various subcultures, is a cultural diversity, a blend of the older, more personal styles of interaction with the new, more socially aware and efficient modern youth in the area.

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